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The Katab call the			Kagoro	"Agwot".
"	"	"	Morwa	"Aholia".
"	"	"	Jaba	"Ada".
"	"	"	Chawe	"Atsomia".
"	"	"	Ganawuri	"Etien".
"	"	"	Aregwe	"Idafan".
"	"	"	Berom	"Aku:t".
"	"	"	Piti	"Epit".
"	"	"	Hausa	"Akwat".
"	"	"	Fulani	"Fatta".

105 *Culture Complex.*—It has been said that the tribes mentioned display a remarkable cultural uniformity, the more conspicuous traits of which may be summarized as follows: (1) the use of a common language of classifying type by five of the tribes (viz. Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro); (2) the peculiar type of dwelling, oblong at the base, with a pinnacled overhanging roof[1]; (3) the mushroom-shaped lumbar adornment worn by the women,[2] the use of lip discs and of a similar pattern of tribal marks; (4) exogamy in some shape or form; (5) the practice of wife-stealing or sub-marriages; (6) the practice of marriage with the grandfather's widow; (7) inheritance of father's widows,[3] and (8) head-hunting. These are the main points of contact; but it will be seen later, when we come to study the social system in detail, that there are also striking divergences, and that as regards the Ikulu we have to do with a tribe which belongs to a totally different ethnic group and has only in recent times come to adopt some of the characteristic features enumerated above.

The Katab

Social Organization

● 614 [101] *The Clans.*—Socially, the Katab, who number about 11,000, consist of four patrilineal groups or clans, viz. (1) Minyam (pop. 3,600), (2) Agbat (pop. 6,100), (3) Shokwa (pop. 200), (4) Aku (pop. 960). Each clan is exogamous, that is to say that intermarriage between members of the same clan is not permitted. The clan members believe themselves to be related by descent from a common ancestor, but in some instances whole groups

[1] See sketch on p. 52.
[2] The Ikulu excepted.
[3] The Kagoma excepted.

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of immigrants from neighbouring tribes have been adopted by a clan and subjected to the general rule of clan exogamy, i.e. the territorial bond has taken the place of the belief in a common descent, or rather local groups have in some cases become identified with kinship groups. In this respect the Katab present a contrast to their neighbours, the Morwa and Kagoro, among whom there is no bar to intermarriage between the aboriginal inhabitants and immigrant members of other tribes.

The territorial grouping of the Katab clans corresponds generally, but not absolutely, with the clan grouping. For though the Minyam and Aku clans each occupy in the main their own territory, the Agbat clan is split in two, the Kwak sub-section being separated from the Nje and Kpaisa sub-sections by the intervening clan of Minyam. But, according to tradition, the local grouping in former times coincided with the social. The small clan of Shokwa lives mixed up with the Kwak sub-section of the Agbat clan. Moreover, families or individuals of one clan may be found living in villages of another clan, and where this happens the usual rules of clan exogamy apply.

It is not uncommon, for example, for a man to take up residence in his mother's village, and in such a case he would be eligible to marry any girl in that village (provided she was not too closely related to his mother's relatives).

History of the Clans.—The Katab appear to have come into their present habitat from the direction of Karigi, some fifty miles due north of Zangon Katab, in order to remove themselves further from the slave-raiding expeditions sent out from Zaria. Their traditions suggest that they arrived in small parties, each of which became the starting point of a comparatively large social group which ultimately displaced the Chawai, Kachichere, and Rumada, the former inhabitants of the district. There are grounds for believing that neither of the small clans of Shokwa and Aku belonged to the main body of the Katab immigrants, and it is even asserted that the Shokwa were not immigrants at all but had always lived in their present settlement. For this reason, perhaps, Shokwa are the rain-makers for the tribe, and it is said that Shokwa and his wife, the founders of the clan, rose miraculously out of the Kaduna river. The Aku are said to have sprung out of the ground from the hoofmark made by

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173 614 Nje[1] horsemen, and owing to this circumstance they derived their nickname of *Bin shio* or relatives of flying ants. It will be observed that the clan titles are nowadays believed to have been derived from the names borne by the reputed founders of the clan, but there is evidence that some at least of the clan titles were formerly place names.

614 784 *Clan Emblems and Taboos.*—Some of the Katab clans have, as we shall see, certain animal or plant taboos, but these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play a prominent part in maintaining the sense of relationship between the members of the clan. We have seen that the Aku bear the nickname of "flying ants" and, although the flying ant is not an Aku emblem, we are reminded of Andrew Lang's view that totems were originally sobriquets. It does 614 not appear that the Aku have any general taboo other than the 784 male shea tree (*nensham*). This tree may be cut down, but its wood may not be used for burning. If an Aku were to eat food 824 cooked over a fire in which *nensham* wood had been used his body would become covered with sores. The leaves of this tree are used as a taboo, and no Aku woman would dare enter a house if the owner had placed a bunch of *nensham* leaves at the door.

614 784 825 The Agbat clan respects the crocodile (*tsang*). It is their friend and brother (*nanyuk*) and on it oaths are sworn. An Agbat, it is said, can play unharmed with a crocodile in the water. If he sees its dead body he hastily retreats, or buries it. He will not even touch a piece of crocodile skin. If he kills a crocodile by accident he must hurry off to the forest for some special medicine; if he kills it by design the entire clan will, it is believed, perish. The reason assigned for this association is that once in ancient times the Katab were flying from their enemies and came to an unfordable river. Crocodiles formed a bridge for the Agbat, but swam away when the other Katab clans tried to cross by the same means. An Agbat can frighten a crocodile by merely calling out the name of some other clan

[1] A variant account says that Agbat and his people were out hunting and came across the men of Shokwa who were performing certain religious rites. As Agbat passed them his horse's hoof made a hole in the ground, and out of this hole sprang Aku. Aku joined in the religious dance of the Shokwa, and was immediately acclaimed as a brother. There is a curious parallel to this story given in Hutton's *The Sema Nagas*, p. 124. Mr. Hutton says: "The Asimi abstain from eating winged ants. The reason given is that their first ancestors emerged from the earth."

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than his own. There does not appear to be any belief nowadays that an Agbat, on dying, turns into a crocodile, but it was stated that when an old Agbat man dies his friends sing: "The water is all astir—the crocodile is entering." An Agbat woman does not cease to respect the crocodile on her marriage, and it was said that the son of an Agbat woman, though he takes his exogamic unit from his father, shows respect to his mother's totem as well as to his father's. The Agbat also, apparently, respect the leopard. If an Agbat kills a leopard he is required by custom to perform certain rites designed to protect him from the ghost of the dead animal. He sends a friend or relative to a neighbouring tribe (Kagoro) for medicine, some of which he drinks and some of which he smears on his body. He will not eat leopard's flesh or wear a leopard's skin. The reason now assigned for this respect is that once in bygone days an Agbat ate leopard's flesh and his body became covered with boils. The conception of non-respect for a totem causing boils is common and is also found in other parts of the world (e.g. among the Melanesians of New Guinea). The Agbat do not call themselves "Leopards", but they state that in battle they were always put in the van, and as they rushed forward they shouted "We are leopards; we cannot run away".

The Shokwa clan respect the *tatong*, one of the lizard family. The association of the *tatong* with the Shokwa clan was begun, it is said, in the following way. Shokwa, the founder of the clan, was sitting alone in his house lighting a fire. A *tatong*, hearing the noise, came and spoke to Shokwa, asking who he was and where were his relatives. Shokwa replied that he had no relatives, and the *tatong* then assured him that God would increase his family. This prophecy came true, and Shokwa ordered all his children to respect the *tatong* for all time. And so no man of Shokwa may injure a *tatong*, and if he finds one he takes it to the priestly head of the Kuzat family who houses it in a granary, feeds it with beniseed and finally releases it with blessings. For the Shokwa regard the *tatong* as a relative, and if they find the body of a dead *tatong* will cover it with earth reverently, holding a funeral feast as they would for one of their old men. Should a Shokwa man kill a *tatong* accidentally rain would fall, even in the middle of the dry season. The most binding oath a Shokwa can

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614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [783] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

613 583 *Sub-clans and Kindreds.*—The principal clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same [616] clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

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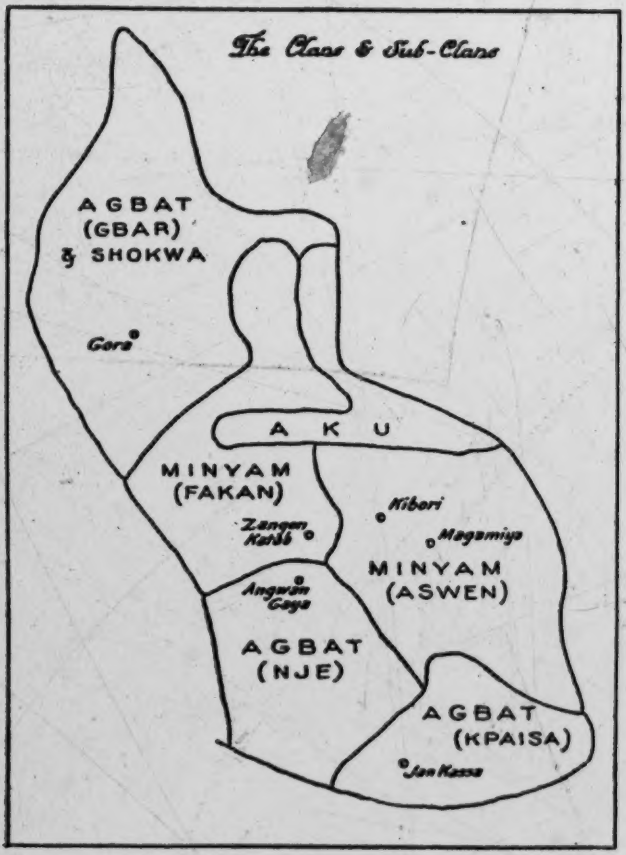
organization.[1] Thus the Minyam clan consists of the moieties[2] Fakan and Aswen, each politically independent and each inclined to be hostile to the other owing to the fact that each constitutes



a group from which the other may abduct married women to become secondary wives. The two sections claim to have had a common father. This cannot now be proved genealogically and

[1] But not a dual organization of the specific type known to anthropologists.
[2] The term " moieties " as used here bears no special sociological significance.

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613 583 616 may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids intermarriage between members of the moieties, a rule which may have been based on reasons other than those of blood relationship. The Agbat clan has a triple division, viz. Gbar Kokwak (Kwak), Kpaisa and Nje, but it was stated that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date.

612 616 The sub-clans are composed of kindreds (*kwai* or *bin*), the term kindred being used here to describe the unilateral grouping of a number of families related through the father. Thus the Aswen sub-clan consists of the following kindreds: (1) Amurum-Alan, (2) Yagofo, (3) Awai, (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organization was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties Amurum-Alan and Yagofo, the former being the religious, the latter the political chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo people the art of skinning animals, the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo having previously been in the habit of roasting animals with the skin on. Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabbanchan.

614 612 The small clans of Aku and Shokwa have no sub-clan organization and appear to consist of a number of kindreds or adopted groups. There does not appear to be any formal rite of initiation into the clan. A boy learns the rules of exogamy as soon as he reaches the age of puberty, and is shown the costume of the local tutelary genius when he has learnt to use the hoe. The kindreds are, of course, exogamous.

614 613 612 The following tables summarize (*a*) the kinship and (*b*) the territorial groupings:—

(*a*) KINSHIP GROUPINGS

Clan.	*Sub-Clan.*	*Kindreds and Adopted Groups.*
Minyam	Fakan	Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda.
	Aswen	Amurum-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Magemmi, Kofo.
Agbat	Gbar	Angwai, Tainchen, Telen.
	Kpaisa	?
	Nje	Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba.
Aku	—	Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon.
Shokwa	—	Kuzat, Kamantam.

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(*b*) TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS

Village Area.	*Clan.*	*Sub-Clan.*	*Population.*	
Zonzon	Minyam	Fakan	22	
Sako	„	„	287	915
Zarkwai	„	„	303	
Bakin Kogi	„	„	48	
Kibori	„	Aswen	281	
Kurmin Masara	„	„	520	
Zaman Awon	„	„	243	
Zaman Dabo	„	„	785	2,687
Magamiya	„	„	480	
Taligram	„	„	226	
Giddan Wuka	„	„	152	
Gora	Agbat	Gbar Kokwak	1,200	1,431
Kurmin Gando	„	„ „	231	
Jankassa	„	Kpaisa	1,150	1,557
Magada Kura	„	„	407	
Ungwar Gaya	„	Nje	908	
Fada Tsofua	„	„	467	
Giddan Karo	„	„	226	3,115
Kurmin Dawaki	„	„	409	
Mabushi	„	„	1,105	
Ungwar Zaki	Aku	—	137	
Bakin Kogi ii	„	—	94	962
Kigudu	„	—	132	
Kwaku	„	—	599	
Gora	Shokwa	—	200	

Each of the kindreds composing a clan or sub-clan has a recognized social and religious Chief, the Magaji Elenowum, who is not necessarily (as in the patriarchal family) the oldest member of the kindred, but is the direct descendant of that branch of the kindred which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller of the kindred. He may be, and often is, junior to other members of the kindred, but that does not lessen his authority in his own domain. He is the chief priest and offers sacrifice for the kindred and specifies the dates for funerals and other feasts. All large game killed by a member of the kindred has to be brought to him to be divided as he thinks fit. He is entitled to the heads of all horned animals and was in bygone days the custodian of human skulls taken in war. He is appealed to on all matters of custom, ranks, and seniority. His advice may be disregarded, and he would then declare that he would wash his hands of the kindred and leave them to follow their own new-fangled ideas. But his supposed magical

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a member of the household from whom he has already obtained a primary wife, (*c*) the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group. (*a*) has already been dealt with. The objection to (*b*) is obvious and would be summed up by the Katab in the statement that you cannot marry a girl and then marry her "mother" too. As regards (*c*) the prohibition against elopement with the wife of a member of one's local group appears to be dependent on the principle that it is inadvisable to make an enemy of one's next-door neighbour. For the same reason, no doubt, elopement with the wife of a member of one's own kindred is prohibited, a rule which suggests that if marriage by capture was the original form of marriage, exogamy may have been the outcome of the desire to avoid local conflict, and may have had nothing to do with such feelings as the fear of consanguinity or a dislike of mating with women with whom one lives in daily contact. The practice of wife-stealing, coexistent with the practice of consanguineous marriages, would certainly create an impossible position in any society.

The rule that no one may elope with the wife of a member of his own kindred or local group has its counterpart in the prohibition of elopement marriages between the two largest clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat. That is to say, a Minyam man may not contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Agbat man and vice versa, even although by contracting such a marriage he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. But a Minyam or Agbat man may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of a member of the Aku or Shokwa clans, provided he does not infringe the rule of clan exogamy. Members of the Minyam and Agbat clans state that the reason why they abstain from eloping with each others' wives is that "a man may not marry his mother-in-law", which is merely another way of stating that it is improper to steal wives from a community whose daughters you are permitted to marry. But if this is so, why do Minyam and Agbat both steal the daughters and elope with the wives of the Aku and Shokwa clans (and also of neighbouring tribes)? The answer given is that the Aku and Shokwa clans are responsible, and that it is time that these two clans confined their wife-stealing energies to sub-divisions of their own clans (which may be a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument). Aku and Shokwa state that they are not yet sufficiently numerous to

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582 583 ●614 abandon the practice of eloping with wives of other clans, and this would appear to be a genuine explanation, for if a clan has, like Shokwa, no subdivision larger than two localized kindreds, between whom wife-stealing would be impossible, then the members are compelled to seek secondary wives outside the limits of the clan. The real reason why Minyam and Agbat abstain from eloping with each other's wives is that the majority of the primary wives of Minyam men are Agbat women and vice versa.[1] If, therefore, a Minyam man were to elope with the wife of an Agbat man he would be eloping with a member of his own clan. There would, however, be no theoretical reason why a Minyam man should not elope with the wife of an Agbat man, provided she did not belong to the Minyam clan. The prohibition possibly dates back to a time when Minyam and Agbat formed two exogamous divisions of a single clan, and all the wives of Minyam men were Agbat women and vice versa.

582 583 613 The next point to observe is that, although extra-clan elopements are forbidden to Minyam and Agbat,[2] inter-clan elopements are the normal rule between the subsections of these clans, e.g. in the Agbat clan, which consists of the subclans Kwak, Kpaisa, and Nje, a man of Kwak may steal the wife of a man of Kpaisa, and a man of Kpaisa may steal the wife of a man of Nje, and so on. This is indeed so much the normal procedure that a member of one sub-clan refers to a member of another as his *nungvan* or "wife-abductor". Similarly in the Minyam clan, which has two sub-clans, viz. Fakan and Aswen, a Fakan man may not marry an Aswen girl, but he may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Aswen man. If, however, a member of one sub-clan goes to reside in the village of another sub-clan of his own clan the normal rules permitting marriages by elopement are in abeyance. To take an example, if an Aswen man of the Minyam clan goes to reside at a Fakan village (Minyam clan) he is not entitled to elope with the wife of anyone in that village. As already observed, elopement marriages create a feeling of hostility, and it is considered undesirable that fighting should take place within the local group. It is possible that the whole system of clan exogamy is the outcome of the desire to

[1] A Minyam man need not necessarily marry an Agbat girl as a primary wife, and vice versa. He may marry a girl of the Aku or Shokwa clan, or of some other tribe.

[2] Aku and Shokwa being small clans practise extra-clan elopements.

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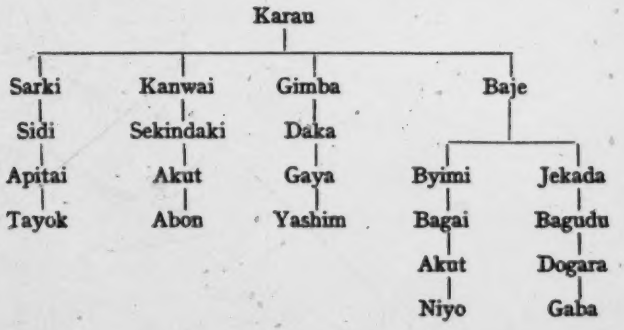
Kachichere

619 the Katab district being administered by the Katuka, both of
648 whom are district headmen of the Emir of Zaria. In former times they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chiefs of Kajuru, from whom the Kachichere Chief received the sacred sword which was, in pre-Fulani days, the emblem of office.

619 I spent two days among the Kachichere, my inquiries being merely directed towards ascertaining the character of the social
614 organization. The tribe, if it can be called a tribe, consists of four social groups: (1) the Ne-Tabin, (2) the Ne-Chobiam, (3) the Ne-Tiet, and (4) the Iningwa-Tiap.

614 The members of each group believe themselves to be blood relatives, and as they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather, they may be regarded as kindreds rather than clans. The Ne-Tabin pedigree was given as follows:—



614 Each kindred constitutes for marriage purposes a single exogamous unit; that is to say, no Tabin may marry a Tabin,
582 but a Tabin may marry a member of any of the other kindreds.
583 There are no family totems, but all respect the crocodile and leopard. There is no grouping, as among the Katab, which permits of the contraction of sub-marriages by wife elopement. It is a taboo for any Kachichere to elope with the wife of any other Kachichere. Sub-marriages may, however, be contracted with wives obtained from neighbouring tribes.

614 The kindreds are not localised, but live together intermingled
621 in a single village-area. The civil Chief of the Kachichere of the Katuka's district belongs to the Tabin kindred, and his

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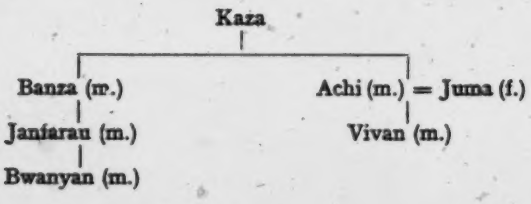
Kachichere

"madaiki" or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5*s*. for the first child, 4*s*. for the second, 3*s*. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a "grandmother" marriage was obtained :—



On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma "Mother"; he did not adopt the rôle of "father-in-law" to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan "Father". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

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Morwa

101 Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves [197] the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

648 The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani [174] dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been [134] driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

173 The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro 612 town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

361 The district consists of a number of village-areas of which 103 the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, 582 Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

612 The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, 614 of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there 582

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MOAUA

is the grouping for purposes of wife-stealing. The kinship group consists in its simplest form of a kindred, i.e. of a number of families living in close proximity who are related to each other patrilineally. In its more complex form it consists of a clan, and is composed of a number of kindreds not always occupying the same territory who believe themselves to be related, but whose relationship is incapable of proof by means of pedigrees. The clan is exogamous, and *a fortiori* so is the kindred. Individuals are also debarred from marrying any close relative of their mother. The wife-stealing group coincides in one instance with a single clan, but in the two remaining instances is composed of two separate clans. The organization may be shown as follows, but owing to the short time spent among the Morwa (two days only) I was unable to test by genealogies the accuracy of the information given.

Wife-stealing Unit.	*Clan.*	*Territorial Units.*
Ye-Lutsi	Ye-Lutsi	Bangen and sections of the villages of Kisagwai, Chonbano, Chori, Mahuta, and Manchok.
Ne-Sa	Manchok (?)	Manchok, Kajun, and sections of the villages of Zankan and Nandiyan.
	Kajim	
Ne-Zam	Ekwopang	Bandong.
	Ekutai (?)	Beniki and sections of Zankan, Kisagwai, Mahuta, and Kaura.

Now firstly, as regards marriages with girls, no one may marry the daughter of a member of his own clan, and no one may marry the daughter of a member of another clan from whom wives are stolen. Secondly, the members of one clan of a wife-stealing unit do not steal the wives of members of the other clan of the same wife-stealing unit, nor do they steal the wives of members of their own clan. Thirdly, if one clan of a wife-stealing unit A marries the daughters of a clan of another wife-stealing unit B, the other clan of A steals the wives of B and vice versa. There is also a proviso that no one may steal the wife of a member of his own village-area. The village of Beniki does not seem to fall in with the general arrangement, and it thus incurs the censure of the other communities, in the

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming
614 to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of
586 bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the housework performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents
428 and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[431] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
604 payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among
517 the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

1: Meek E, C-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

According to Meek, the Katab proper (*Atyap*, in the vernacular), consist of the following units:

Clan : population	*Sub-clan : population (with lineages)*	*Villages : population*
Minyam : 3,602	Fakan : 915 (Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda)	Zonzon .. .. 227 Sako .. .. .. 287 Zarkwai .. .. 303 Bakin Kogi (i) .. 48
	Aswen : 2,687 (Amurun-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Kofo, Magemmi or Magamiya)	Kibori .. .. 281 Kurmin Masara .. 520 Zaman Awon .. .. 243 Zaman Dabo .. .. 785 Magamiya .. .. 480 Taligram (Taligan) .. 226 Gidan Wuka 152
Shokwa : 200	(Kuzat, Kamantan)	Gora : 200 1,200 1,400
Agbat : 6,103	Kwak : 1,431 (Angwai, Tainchen, Telen)	Kurmin Gando .. 231
	Kpaisa : 1,557 (?)	Jankassa .. .. 1,150 Magada Kura .. 407
	Nje : 3,115 (Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba)	Ungwar Gaya .. 908 Fada Tsofuwa .. 467 Gidan Karo .. .. 226 Kurmin Dawaki .. 409 Mabushi 1,105
Aku : 962	(Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon)	Ungwar Zaki .. 137 Bakin Kogi (ii) .. 94 Kigudu .. .. 132 Kwaku 599
		Total 10,667

Lineages and villages are given here basically in the order in which they appear in Meek's tables: what has determined this order is not known.

Administrative units (Village-areas) of the Katab tribal area recognized by Government in 1950 (with population figures of *c.* 1948): (*a*) Zonzon, 2,184; (*b*) Zaman Dabo, 2,335; (*c*) Taligan, 1,116; (*d*) Gora, 3,238; (*e*) Jan Kasa, 2,162; (*f*) Ungwar Gaya, 3,566; (*g*) Gidan Jatau, 2,368: total, 20,315.[17] Unfortunately it is not possible to correlate in detail this list with Meek's, since the component hamlets of the various Village-areas cannot in all cases be identified with any certainty. It would appear, however, that (*a*) here corresponds with Meek's (1), (*d*) with (3), (*e*) with (4), (*f*) with (5), and (*g*) with (6); (*b*) and (*c*) together make up Meek's (2). (See also *Local Organs of Authority*, below.)

Cole found (1948–9) that the Katab tribe appeared to consist of three exogamous clans, Nyam, Ku, and Baht, the first divided into four "kindreds," the second not divided, and the third into three "kindreds." The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. Thus, the Ikulu immigrants appear to have emerged as one or two "sub-clans" of Minyam, and Meek's Shokwa "clan" to have fused with Agbat as a "sub-clan." (See also under Ikulu, below.)

[17] No information is available to explain the difference between this figure (which, incidentally, does not include Zangon Katab Town) and the various totals given for the Katab tribe specifically—themselves showing striking differences.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

According to Meek, the exogamous unit, or clan, appears usually to be composed of two parts, (i) those lineages claiming patrilineal descent from a single ancestor, the founder of the clan, and (ii) " adopted lineages " of known extraneous origin. No formal distinction between these parts appears to be made by the peoples themselves.

Since the time of Tremearne it has been persistently reported that " the Katab tribe " originated from the region of Karigi. Meek's account of the traditions of the clans, sub-clans and lineages shows that the matter is by no means as simple as that. If, as Meek reports, the Katab themselves hold that the clans and sub-clans bear the names of their founders (which the lineages do not invariably: see below), Shokwa was aboriginal in present-day Katab territory, emerging (with his wife) from the Kaduna River; Aku, though a late-comer, was somehow in the beginning affiliated with Shokwa, and was like him aboriginal; Agbat was clearly the ancestor of Kwak (Gbar—or Agbat or Baht—Kokwak) and Kpaisa (Faisa), but Nje was a " stranger " adopted into the clan, his descendants forming a separate sub-clan, the origins of neither Agbat (Karigi, according to Brice-Smith) nor Nje being made clear; Minyam, similarly of unstated origin (Karigi?), was the ancestor of Fakan and Aswen (Ashwam). (See also below.)

A number of the lineages of the various clans and sub-clans, as already indicated, are apparently of foreign, and comparatively recent, origin. Among the lineages of Aswen sub-clan, Awai (cf. Awai clan of Kurama), Kofo (stated to be " Kagoro of Kabanchan "), and Magemmi or Magamiya (Ikulu) are adopted; Nje, said to be an adopted sub-clan, has a lineage, Jaba, which suggests that Nje has carried the process further, to absorb immigrants of the Jaba tribe, and Asalio lineage of Aku clan may indicate a Moroa (Asolio in the vernacular) origin; similarly, Kamantan lineage of Shokwa clan, clearly stated to be adopted, doubtless derives from the tribe of the same name.[18] It is perhaps this process of " adoption " which can be seen at work when, though marriage is normally patrilocal, married daughters—sisters—return to their parental compound " with their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group." When it is recalled that there is considerable intermarriage (though largely of the secondary sort) between the various members of the Katab Group, it would appear that the process aims towards an eventual amalgamation of Ikulu, Kachichere and Kamantan tribes with the Katab; and perhaps ultimately of the Kaje, if not of the more closely related tribes of neighbouring Districts.

In Agbat and Minyam, by far the largest clans, the exogamous unit forms also a unit within which secondary marriage is permitted or even preferred: the " sub-clans " of Agbat and Minyam, however, are units within which secondary marriage is prohibited.[19] Members of the small Aku and Shokwa clans seek both primary and secondary wives outside their respective units. The largest sub-divisions of Aku and Shokwa are, of course, lineages, into which all the sub-clans of Agbat and Minyam, apparently with the exception of Kpaisa, are also divided.[20]

[18] Similarly, according to Smith, Katab immigrants were absorbed by Kagoro perhaps a century ago, giving rise to the community's distinctive moiety-system, described farther below; and Reynolds reports the assimilation of Katab by Kaje at roughly the same time.

[19] A member of Agbat (Minyam) may take as secondary wife the wife of a member of Aku or Shokwa clans (within the limits imposed by clan exogamy), but he is prohibited from taking the wife of a member of the other large clan, Minyam (Agbat). Apart from the consideration that any serious friction between these two powerful bodies might well disrupt the tribe, it seems likely that most of the primary wives of Agbat men will, owing to the size of that clan, of necessity be Minyam women, and probably a clear majority of Minyam men take Agbat wives primarily, which would tend to restrict secondary marriage between the two; Katab express the prohibition in terms of mother-in-law avoidance.

[20] Meek leaves some doubt as to whether the sub-clan is a descent group of the type termed a maximal lineage, or a clan, and whether his clans—in the case of Agbat and Minyam at least—are basically phratries, Nje being an intrusive element. Certainly it is by no means clear whether the groups here termed lineages are anything like comparable units in the various clans. See Meek's detailed analysis of Kibori village.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON

site, and who addresses himself direct to the high god.[33] If the prayers for rain are successful, he retires to the grave of his most remote ancestor to offer thanks. Though there are over twenty lineages and rain-makers among the Katab, the most important is that of Shokwa, the *teowap* or *magajin dodo*.[34] Among Shokwa, whose origin out of the waters of Kaduna will be recalled, special rites are performed, which would, presumably, benefit the whole tribe, all having some connection with the Kaduna River.

The *teowap*, too, presided over the important head-hunting cult: preliminary rites were performed over the warrior and his trophy by his local *elenowum;* but on the second day, the head-winner, with the *elonowum*, retired to Shokwa, and the *teowap* there performed further rites. After *elenowum* and warrior returned from Shokwa, the latter's maternal uncle might take the head for cleaning, but it was finally deposited in the local skull-hut, in the care of the *elenowum*. A first feast was held on the warrior's return from Shokwa, when the warrior partook of a small piece of flesh from the head. which, it would seem, qualified him technically for the salutation, "*mwaliak*"; a final feast was held when the head had been prepared for display.[35] It is probably significant that the *elenowum* also functioned as the keeper of game-heads (less now than formerly, owing to the disappearance of large game in any quantity from the Katab area); it was he apparently who actually cooked and distributed the game killed.[36]

As regards totemism, Meek states that some of the Katab clans have animal or plant taboos, but that these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play much part in binding the members of a clan together. There is no doubt considerable variation from one lineage, clan or sub-clan to another. The Agbat clan, for instance, respects the crocodile, the Shokwa clan the *tatona* lizard; children often respect the clan-emblem of their mother as well as that of their father. In addition, Agbat appears to be the only clan to perform special rites when a leopard is killed.

KANINKON (TUM) OF JEMA'A DISTRICT, JEMA'A EMIRATE-DIVISION, PLATEAU PROVINCE

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE

A link between Kaninkon and Katab is impossible to establish with absolute certainty and there is no available evidence of a close connection between them at the present time, though relations with Kagoro (and the Kachichere of Jema'a) are traditionally cordial.

[33] Significant if Gwaza is regarded as a rain god.

[34] Kuzat lineage, presumably: Kamantan lineage is an adopted immigrant group The structure of Shokwa to be deduced from this account of Meek's appears to diverge sharply from the Katab norm. In general Meek has noted that the various religious posts are filled by members of distinct "branches" of each lineage: the *teowap*, however, is apparently *agwam obwai* (as *Magajin dodo*), and rain-maker and, as rain-maker, it would seem, in light of Shokwa's miraculous origin, also in effect *elenowum*.

[35] Meek notes: ". . . The Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting. The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje", that is, presumably, among the members of the Katab group: members of the group did not wage war merely for the sake of heads, but on provocation, and the Kaje, being the largest and most aggressive of the neighbours of the Katab proper, very likely gave provocation freely; there is evidence, however, that Fulani and Hausa were preyed upon with considerable enthusiasm by all members. Ultimately, peace-making between Kaje and Katab proper resolved itself into the ritual exchange of heads taken in battle.

[36] Meek's account at this point raises a number of questions: elsewhere he states that a hunter takes the head of his quarry to his mother's brother; and, again, to the "head" of Aswen (which lineage is not specified: Amurun-Alan and Yagofo lineages are recognized as biologically derived from eponymous Aswen; but the adopted immigrant Awai, on the other hand, is credited with teaching the other two the art of animal-skinning); further, if the connection between game-hunting and head-hunting is truly significant, which Meek suggests, a connection between the former and the *teowap* of Shokwa needs to be demonstrated. To some extent, these apparently contradictory statements may reflect actual variation in local practice: if so, the fact needs to be stated explicitly.

survival after death."[91] It seems clear from Smith's account that the Kagoro *obwai* cult " does not command awe among initiated males " at the present time, but he leaves some doubt as to the effectiveness of the cult among the uninitiated, particularly the women, commenting only that it " has lost some of its functions."[92] Apart from spring memorial rites the ancestral cult appears to be associated with none of the rituals of the annual cycle—planting, harvesting, or hunting.[93]

The extent to which belief in the supernatural constitutes a basis for, or at least an element of, the aforementioned rituals of the annual cycle is by no means clear from Smith's accounts of them, already referred to.[94] Tremearne, too, fails to make the point clear in describing " harvest rites."

Of hunting rites Temple says only that ancestral spirits are consulted in the sacred grove. *Akanyam*, described by Smith as ritualized beer drinking by members of a lineage at the lineage shrine (*sshwo*), appears to be associated primarily with hunting, but it is not clear whether this rite follows each hunt, or simply terminates the hunting (=dry) season. Neither is the religious, as contrasted with the social, basis of the rite entirely clear, though Smith calls it a " ritual of purification," and says that it marks the end of the period during which the hunter is in danger from his quarry's dead spirit.[95]

Judging from Meek's evidence, the *kwai* (clans) are totemic units, that is, respect particular animal species: he reports, however, that clans recognizing a common origin (that is, localized segments of a *bin*) sometimes do, and sometimes do not, recognize the same species as their emblem.

Smith gives an interesting account of the *imbhweh* cult, which during its brief career rivalled the *obwai* cult, and threatened to displace the budding chieftaincy as a comprehensive institution, so that (in 1934) the Administration felt bound to outlaw it. In general outline *imbhweh* closely resembles *obwai*; it was essentially a male secret society with masked dancers and initiation, and it imposed a certain discipline on the community through floggings and ritualistic fines of goats and beer. According to Smith, the rise of *imbhweh* was incident to the disastrous locust invasion and subsequent famine of *c.* 1930, and to the activities of a new chief appointed about this time, a ruthless man, who converted the N.A. police into a personal instrument and had people whipped, fined, or imprisoned at will. *Imbhweh's* chief claim was to the control of locusts; accordingly the shrine and ritual of the cult was established in each village, under the headship of the *tita imbhweh*. Everyone was required to attend the nightly dances at the shrine, to bring beer, goats, chickens, and dogs as tribute. Women were ordered to sleep with nominees, and premarital licence, a thing foreign to Kagoro custom, was ordered. *Imbhweh* was also instrumental in punishing theft, which had increased during the period of locust infestation. According to Smith, the great mass of the people were caught between these two opposing forces struggling for power,

[91] How this accords with Smith's assertion that " in former days . . . ritual assistance . . . was sought from [their father and father's brother] either in their lifetime by small gifts of beer or after their death," is not clear, unless it be that a generation of successful mission activity has wrought changes in Kagoro religious belief.

[92] Smith implies that even the residual core of belief in *agwam obwai* as a kind of go-between from the living to the dead, described by Meek, has vanished.

[93] These spring memorial rites are described only imperfectly by Smith, but occur towards the end of the dry season. They begin with *obwai abeyan*, then comes *fon* which seems to be a kind of memorial service for the dead of the preceding year.

[94] Smith lumps together all planting and harvest rituals as *ci* (*chi*) rituals; each of several traditional staples has its own special rites. These rituals appear to define the village, and are presided over by the village *tienwhop*, always a member of an Ankwei clan. (Whether lesser rites are subsequently held by each clan is not clear: Smith never describes the exact functions of the *niewhop*, the clan-head in ritual matters.) Hunting rites are presided over by the *tenci* of each clan: within the village, the rites of the senior clan take precedence over those of all other clans.

[95] Tremearne's (and Temple's) statement that the spirit of a hunter's quarry may be reborn in his child is perhaps relevant here.

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Moroa
Ataka

	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243),[102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Amee); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

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Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March)[105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Zangon Katab District, but it seems probable that precisely those areas inhabited by Kaje (see map) are the most densely populated in both Districts, so that the actual difference, from the point of view of Kaje, may be negligible.

The Kaje tribal area is drained by the Kogum-Mada system, which flows southward to the Benue, and by the headwaters of the Gurara, which empties westwards into the Niger. The country is generally undulating and parklike, not thickly wooded apart from the numerous gullies (*kurmi;* cf. Kagoro and Jaba). East of the railway line between Kankada and Suryam on the Kagoro boundary, there is a considerable extent of marshy ground. Three ranges of hills cross the area, one running north and south, near Zonkwa, and two, extending approximately north-east and south-east, from Afana to Farman, and from Kaban to Kamaron Ikulu, respectively.

Reynolds suggests that Kaje may be the Hausa corruption of the indigenous name, Baju, meaning "people of one language." Kaje is said also to be a tribal ancestor's name.

Social Organization

Kaje villages and hamlets of Zangon Katab District are grouped into 11 Village-areas, among which are distributed six "tribal sections" or clans, according to Reynolds.[100]

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Baidawang	Zonkwa	*Zonkwa*	3,757
	Kurmin Bi		
	Madauci		
	Zonkwa (Hausa)		
	Zuturung Fama	*Zuturung*	*1,538 : 5,295*
	Kangurara		
	Zuturung Magu		
Baimbin	Suryan	*Suryan*	1,903
	Aduan		
	Arebot		
	Kankada		
	Wadon		
Baisurung	Gidan Jatau	*Gidan Jatau*	2,813
	Abet		
	Amankwai		
	Farman		
	Ipam		
	Kasyom		
	Ungwar Jatau		
Baintaok	Fadan Kaje	*Fadan Kaje*	1,806
	Rumia		
	Tsofon Gida		
	Fadiya Magu	*Fadiya*	*2,409 : 3,915*
	Fadiya Bosan		
	Fadiya Bukut		
	Fadiya Yasaun		
	Kahon Aruwan		
	Kahon Dok		
	Zagon Fisfa		
	Zagon Gajere		

[100] Cf. Mock, *Tribal Studies*, II, pp. 101–2.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

361 103 162 614

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Banewhan	Afana	*Afana*	1,185
	Katsik		
	Gidan Tagwai	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,704
	Amfan		
	Bakin Kogi		
	G. Tagwai Hausa		
	Makera Hausa		
	Kamurun Kaje	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,970
	Kurdan		
	Sokwap		
	Zauru		
	Marsa	*Marsa*	*2,227 : 7,095*
	Chanchu		
	Kunye		
	Rikawan		
Batadon	Madakiya	*Madakiya*	3,396
	Atat		
	Ayagan		
	Bodari		
	Bonkwa		
	Hausawan Matsirgas		
	Hurjam		
	Kauraje		

648 Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

631 622 At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of *agwam*.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "Minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623

According to Reynolds: "None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the "tribal sections" or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the "minimal lineage", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order ("major lineage") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order ("minor"), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally "of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a "maximal lineage", authority in which was vested in the *atiyinkwap*, or approximately "father of the group" (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *atiyinkwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] Re *idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

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Kaje

614 or maximal lineage, members recognize a direct descendant of their common ancestor as their head (*gado kapiyi*, in Hausa, Magajin gada). His direct interest 613 within the major lineage is more intense than that of the *atiyinhwap* in the maximal lineage. After the *gado kapiyi* has beaten the ground with his stick no one in the major lineage would dare to disobey. Again, in the minor lineage, composed of a number of extended families, the head is *atiyinswoi*, "father of the 613 cluster." Although the position is usually hereditary, the son or blood-brother being 596 preferred, it may be held by the senior elder of the minor lineage.[113] His powers are more limited than those of the *gado kapiyi*, but if he beats the ground with his right hand no one of the minor lineage would dare to disobey. All game killed by members of the lineage must be brought to him for distribution. The head of the extended family (minimal lineage) is *atiyikariyi*, "father of the compound."

614 According to Reynolds, "the *atiyinhwap* of the Baiduang tribal section is recognized as the final authority in affairs affecting the welfare of the tribe. This 619 authority was not used to interfere in affairs of a maximal lineage other than his own, and he had no political authority," which is to say that there was no formal tribal government. He might, however, call together all *atiyinhwap* "to perform rites for the benefit of the whole tribe," an expedient to which, apparently, he has not resorted since the advent of British Administration.

613 Before the British, only two civil titles were recognized by Kaje villages, *agwam*, the name given by Kaje to the Fulani tribute collectors, and *madaki*, 624 who was chosen by the *agwam* whom he served as "helper." The *agwam* were first chosen by the *atiyinhwap*, but later, when their number increased and where the major lineage was the political unit, the *gado kapiyi* would make the selection.

Much the same procedure seems in the matter of civil headships to have been followed in the early years of British Administration, but it is suggested that these titles have by now become in effect hereditary in certain lesser lineages. In recent years a few ritual leaders have shown some interest in the possibility of obtaining civil titles either for themselves or for close relatives.

TRADITIONS

173 According to Reynolds, Baranza (the founding ancestor) and his relatives left Miango[114] because of a famine. They came down from the hills and after spending a short time with the Chawai eventually settled at Kurmin Bi, a hamlet of Zonkwa Village-area. There, according to Reynolds' informants, Kaje, or Kurmin Bi, was born. In Reynolds' opinion they do not mean that a son was born to Baranza, but rather that the tribe's development stems from Baranza's taking up residence with his family at this place. Nevertheless the ancestors of the Kaje clans are termed by present-day Kaje the grandsons of Baranza, hence, presumably, the sons of Kaje (Kurmin Bi). These grandsons were Sokwap, Kaduan, Dando, Atun and, according to members of Baintsok section, a fifth, Atom, whom Baintsok claim as their ancestor. Sokwap was the first to break away from Kurmin Bi and he settled on the Kamuru (Kaje) hills. He was followed by Dando and then Kaduan. Finally, so the Baintsok hold, Atom broke away and went to Tsofon Gida. Atun remained at Kurmin Bi. The sixth "tribal section," is composed entirely of assimilated alien lineages. A summary of Reynolds' analysis of the various sections follows.

613 *Baiduang: men of Duang (a stream)*: It appears that the six constituent major 614 lineages of Baiduang are organized as a single maximal lineage. Traditionally Baiduang is said to have been exogamous; nowadays the exogamous unit is a local association of major lineages. Formerly Baiduang was also a unit as regards 582 secondary marriage, but in recent years young men of each of the two Village-

[113] In function, Reynolds states that the present-day hamlet-head is most nearly the equivalent of the old *agwam*. As already mentioned, he fails to indicate the actual title of the hamlet-head under British Administration.

[114] An Irigwe (tribe) Village-area, Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province. See map.

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Kaje

areas, Zonkwa and Zuturung, are reported to have contracted secondary marriages with wives of men in the other.

Baimbin: men of the drum: The six major lineages appear to be exogamous units at present: it is perhaps noteworthy that in Suryan Village-area only Kanakada is a composite hamlet, its residents divided between two major lineages. Baimbin section, that is, Suryan Village-area, is the " wife-stealing " unit.

Bainturung: settlers: Bainturung, which appears to be completely alien in origin, is composed of two maximal lineages, Amabat and Farman, with no tradition of kinship apart from extensive intermarriage. Originally the maximal lineages were the exogamous units, now the major lineages. Bainturung (Gidan Jatau Village-area) is the " wife-stealing " unit. The post of Village-area head is held by Farman.

Baintsok: men of the little hill: Four of the six major lineages are to be found in Fadan Kaje Village-area, one predominating in each of the three constituent hamlets, and one divided between two of them. The remaining two are located in Fadiya Village-area, where in general the minor lineage corresponds to the hamlet. As regards the *atiyinhwap*, the two Village-areas constitute a single unit. In Fadan Kaje the head of the Village-area is chosen from a relatively senior minor lineage of the same major lineage as the *atiyinhwap;* in Fadiya from a junior minor lineage of the single Kaje lineage there (as opposed to the aboriginal, adopted lineage, at Kahon, in that Village-area).

Banewhan: men of the mountains: This is the most complex section, being composed of a number of wholly disparate units, of origins apparently as varied as those of the component parts of any other section of the tribe. Banehwan has two maximal lineages, Sokwap, restricted to the Kamuru Village-area (Kamurun Kaje); and Potwak, distributed among Marsa, Gidan Tagwai, and Afana Village-areas. Minor lineages appear to be localized; each major lineage within the section generally constitutes an exogamous unit. Each of the four Village-areas constitutes a separate " wife-stealing " unit.

Batadon: men of tadon: Batadon consists of eight component lineages. In general, each major lineage forms a single hamlet. Reynolds notes as apparently exceptional that *atiyinhwap* and *gado abwai* (*obwai* priest) are held by the same person. The major lineage is the exogamous unit here, as elsewhere. Secondary marriage units are not so clear-cut, indicating that perhaps the hamlet is in process of emerging as the " wife-stealing " unit.

It will be seen from the above accounts that primary marriage rules and the structure of sections would permit of sectional endogamy, whereas in a majority of cases secondary wives must be sought outside the section. Such wives may quite frequently be taken from neighbouring tribes (see also below). In war, Kaje differentiated between Kaje, Kagoma, Jaba of Kwoi, and Ikulu on the one hand and Kagoro, Kamantan, Katab, and Jaba of Kachia on the other. When war was resorted to a single minor lineage on both sides refrained from fighting, and in the end joined together to negotiate a settlement.

Totemism

According to Meek, there is apparently a tendency for the Village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal, but present-day evidence does not support this. Reynolds found persons admitting to " taboos " on animal species, but taboos inherited through the mother and not the father. It is therefore possible for all uterine members of a compound to have the same taboo, and the mother's female children give this taboo to their children.[114]

[114] Reynolds found similar matrilineal totemic groupings among Chawai, reported in *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria.*

cultivable. The population statistics according to the latest (1947) tax count are:— 162

Kagoro	...	8,999
Katabawa	...	1,713
Attakar	...	689
Hausa	...	279
Ibo	...	107
Others	...	79
Total		11,866

The Katabawa come from the neighbouring Zangon Katab district of the Zaria Emirate, the Attakar from the neighbouring Moroa district, the Hausa are mainly traders and their families and the Ibos are immigrant Railway employees. [563]

History. 18. Originally the Kagoro lived in their strongholds amongst the high and almost inaccessible hills of the district. They had small patches of farms in these hills but their main farmlands were on the fertile plains at the foot of the hills. These farms were the subject of constant raids by the Fulani and in pre-British times were no more than a precarious utilisation of the no-man's land between the unconquered hills in which the Kagoro resided and the conquered Katab lands farther north. It was only when the British came that permanent settlement of these plains became possible. 175

Social structure. 19. An attempt was made to correlate the social structure of the tribe with the present day territorial sub-divisions of the district. The tribe would appear to consist of two distinct clans, the Ankwei and the Kpashan. These two clans are sub-divided into various kindreds. Except for the Kukum Kpashan with whom, for some unfathomable reason, other Kphashan may marry the Kpashan clan is exogamous and may only marry members of the Ankwei clan. The Ankwei clan is not exogamous though the kindreds into which it is divided are. The district is divided into eleven territorial (village) units. There were twelve until last year when the territorial unit of Tum, whose inhabitants are Katab, was absorbed into the senior territorial unit of Fada and thus lost its separate identity. Appendix " C " shews the occurrence, within these territorial units, of each of the kindreds. But though it was admitted that certain territorial units might contain a preponderance of one or more particular kindreds it was impossible to say, owing to migration and intermingling, that any *particular kindred or kindreds* had any prescriptive rights to the land within that unit. 614 621 612 423 Appendix C.

[p. 4]

426 the present occupier vacated or moved his house they could get the land back.

Authority in land matters.

614 627 81. The Katab tribe appears to consist of three exogamous clans—Nyam, Ku and Baht. The first named is divided into four kindreds, the second is not divided and the third into three kindreds. The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. It would need more time than was available to establish the relationship—if any. It would appear, however, that at the present time neither the kindred nor clan elders claim the right to settle disputes. A farmer aggrieved by his father's division of the lands, for example, would complain to the village (kindred) elders who would try to effect or compromise. If they failed the matter would be brought up to the tribal elders who alone would be competent to insist that their decision be accepted.

82. The word insist has been deliberately used instead of enforce. The elders were at pains to point out that they would never require force to achieve their end. They would advise, then [626] coax or persuade; if that failed then social pressure would be exerted—ridicule, ostracism and, though it was not mentioned, probably a reminder of the potency of the " tsafi "—the tribal drum. At any rate in the end the disputants would accept the decision. And they had never known it to fail (cf. paragraph 69).

Unallocated lands.

423 241 83. As mentioned in paragraph 72 the Katab have little, if any, spare lands. All land in their area is claimed by some individual or family either as his or their farm or fallow—as with the Kagoro. It is not apparent that land hunger has set in—yet. Land can still be obtained freely on loan if one's own inherited lands are insufficient. Some families, reduced by death and disease, have more than they can use and are quite willing to loan it. Indeed, some of the elders complained that nowadays there were insufficient people to farm the lands properly since, if a man had four sons two would probably [illegible] to the Mission and having gone away would no longer be interested in farming but would go off into some other non-agricultural pursuit. Whatever truth there may be in this statement the fact remains that some farmers find it impossible to follow the normal farm and fallow rotation and so adopt the "shifting compound " cultivation. The home farms are occupied with the house in the middle of them thus ensuring that their fertility is kept up by constant manuring; the " bush " farm is worked till its productivity becomes dangerously low. The whole household then moves *en bloc* to the " bush " farm which then becomes the " home " farm and is brought back into good [367] fettle by manuring. The " home " farm has in the meantime become the " bush " farm—and so the process goes on. This

[Ep. 23]

probably explains why the Katab scene consists of so many isolated single compounds widely scattered throughout the country side. There are no large villages or small towns.

84. There are few aspects of the Kaje land tenure system which would not be familiar to either the Katab or the Kagoro. There is the same gradual breakdown to an individual basis—though perhaps not to the same extent; the same denial to the individual of any right to alienate permanently lands which he has inherited and is expected to pass on to his inheritors; the acknowledgement of a system of loaning with the token brewing of beer—a social obligation; the same attitude to the building of a house on borrowed lands and the same grace period for farming after he has removed his house. Pledge is not known. Kaje tenure.

85. The principal deviation from the Katab is in the vesting of the final authority in land matters. Here the Kaje system is almost identical with the Jaba of Kachia. The kindred as distinct from the tribal elders claim the final say. Authority in land matters.

86. Details of the kindreds and the territorial village units are:—

(*i*) Tsok—Fadan Kaje
Fadia
(*ii*) Dwan—Zuturu
Zonkwa
(*iii*) Turun—Firman
(*iv*) Tadon—Madakia
(*v*) Bin—Suriyan
(*vi*) Afwun—Afana
Ungwar Rimi
Marsah
Kamerun

[It is of interest to note, in parenthesis, that my anthropology may be a bit wrong. On returning from the area the following reference from an old report by Brice-Smith was discovered (1922):—

" The tribe is still in the family stage of evolution. As soon as an individual has made his position sufficiently strong by marriage he moves off and starts a hamlet by himself and no longer recognises the tribal head ".

He correlates the ' clans ' and territorial units as:—

Bainduang (leopard totem)—*Zonkwa*, *Zuturu*, Kurmin Bi. Madaichi
Baintso (crocodile totem)—*Fadan Kaje*, G. Tsofuwa, Rumfa, Kafo, Zagwon, *Fadiya*

Kaje
Hausa MS12

K
612 and points out that with the " Baintso and Bainduang exogamy is
621 breaking down ". A further report in 1932 which was also
614 discovered refers, however, to five clans—Baindon, Baichok, Baibai, Baiturun and Kahon. The prefix Bai is, of course, " the men of ". I have used the ancestral name. These correspond respectively with (*ii*), (*i*), (*v*), (*iii*) and (*iv*). There appears now to be a new appearance in Afwun. As, however, these reports refer to clans whereas I refer to " kindreds " there may be no discrepancy at all and the appearance of a new kindred is no more than a development on the lines of Brice-Smith's description. It is a detail which does not affect the general issue.]

K
691 87. I was informed that in the case of a land dispute arising
627 in Afana the elders of Afana would try to mediate and settle. They might even attempt to administer the oath on the " drum ". Either disputant would, however, have the right to refuse to take the oath and the matters would then go to the elders of Afwun. There would be no appeal beyond that. The elders of Afwun would administer the oath on the " drum " and the matter would be finally settled. Neither Tsok, Dwan or any other of the kindreds would be consulted. So, it was stated, would each of the six kindreds act. Such matters would not come before the Native Court unless there was an actual ' breach of the peace ', *i.e.*, a fight. In this case the ' breach of the peace ' would be dealt with by the Court. But the cause of the breach—the farm dispute—would still be settled in the customary manner by the tribal elders.

Other tribes.
000 88. In view of the great number of tribes present in the Province it would be impossible to give in detail, without many months of investigation, the precise land tenure system of each tribe. Sufficient has been written to give a general idea of the situation, however, and I have no reason to believe that examination of other areas will reveal any fundamental divergences. The broad pattern is plain. I have made cursory enquiries of members of all indigenous tribes that I have come across and these enquiries confirm the above. Cursory enquiries, however, are apt to be cursory. Confirmation—or refutation—will have to come from Administrative Officers on tour when visiting the various areas, after they have examined the local custom carefully.

HAUSA AREAS

(i) The Hausa Enclaves

H
621 89. The Hausa enclaves at Zangon Katab and Kachia may be taken as typical examples of Hausa settlements in pagan areas. The Zangon Katab enclave is described in paragraph 72, that of Kachia is briefly referred to in paragraph 51.

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[p. 25]

APPENDIX C

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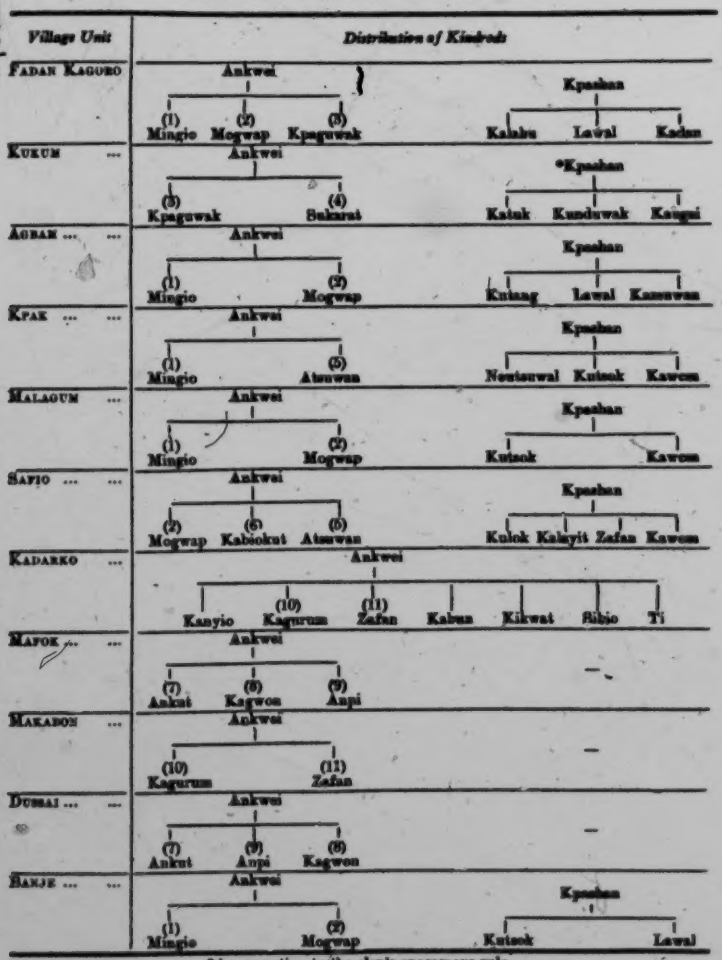
KAGORO SOCIAL STRUCTURE



*An exception to the clan's exogamous rule.

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[p. 35]